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has unqualifiedly committed himself to it. We must in fairness to him assume that if he had the authority he would stand by this position. If he should be elected, indeed, we would have to assume that the country had given him a mandate to accomplish this.

"The Democratic nominee has declared 'in favor of going in' to the covenant the President brought back from Paris. I oppose going into that league. I favor participation in a world association of nations with an international court of justice, a tribunal that shall be governed by definite principles of international law. I favor a world association aiming at the practical expression of the conscience of nations planned to focus world opinion.

"I am opposed to an offensive and defensive alliance of powers seeking to dominate the rest of the world. Even the other great powers which were to have been associated with us in this proposed alliance were themselves hesitant about accepting it.

"I heartily favor an association of nations inspired by ideals of justice and fair dealing, rather than of power and self-interest. Such an association could and I believe would be potent in the effort to maintain peace. The Hague tribunal gives us the foundation of such an organization. Under the conditions now prevailing in the world, with the world fully realizing the awfulness of modern war, it is wholly possible to perfect The Hague tribunal so that its determinations shall be effective and accepted without surrender of national rights.

"I recognize that the world's peace is now to a great extent intertwined with the settlement of Versailles. From that settlement I would save all that is good and useful. An association of nations for purposes of conference and a world court with jurisdiction of justiciable questions would, I am confident, now be accepted by all nations.

"This plan, we have been repeatedly assured by European statesmen, would meet their approval. Mr. Lloyd-George has frankly expressed opinion that the League of Nations Covenant might well be changed for the better. Certainly it is our thought to improve, to save and build upon whatever is good rather than to abandon the good there is and repudiate the world's aspirations for peace.

"Viscount Gray has generously proposed that the Americans be intrusted with drafting a reconstruction scheme. It is apparent that the enlightened leadership of Europe wishes us to do this, and I should feel that to refuse would be a dereliction. As I view it, we have an opportunity to do a great service to the world if we will but undertake this effort which the world wishes us to undertake.

"On the other hand, I cannot but feel that for us to continue insistence upon a plan which has proved ineffective, upon which our own people cannot unite, and which the world recognizes as incapable of preserving peace, would be to make this country recreant to a service which we really aspire to render to mankind. The Republican Party will not place itself in such a position, nor will it surrender the supreme inheritance of national freedom and self-determination.

"Sincerely yours,

"WARREN G. HARDING."

AMENDMENTS TO THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Special Correspondence

FOUR IMPORTANT amendments to the Covenant of the League of Nations have been suggested by the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish governments for consideration at the first meeting of the Assembly of the League, at Geneva, on November 15. Those proposals, which vary somewhat in form, but are virtually identical in purpose, are in one case accompanied by an explanation along the lines given below. They have been submitted to all States members of the League for consideration and require approval of the Council and a majority vote of the Assembly before they can become effective.

The first suggestion is made with the intention of strengthening the position of the Assembly by providing for a fixed annual meeting, to be held either at the time provided for in the rules of procedure or on a specific date, such as the second Monday in September. It is also proposed that, on the demand of ten members of the League, a special meeting of the Assembly shall be called at any time by the Secretary General at the seat of the League. These two amendments, it is contended, would give the Assembly the power necessary to enable the League permanently to maintain the authority which is required for the accomplishment of its mission.

The object of the second suggestion is to regularize the method of selecting the four non-permanent members of the Council by providing that the Assembly shall, after the first selections, name a new State each year to serve for a period of four years and not to be subject to re-election for the following period. This amendment is intended to secure successive representation on the Council of a large number of States, and at the same time, by making only one change in membership each year, to maintain the necessary continuity in the composition of the Council.

The third amendment proposes to omit the word "generally" from the following paragraph in Article XIII:

"Disputes as to the interpretation of a treaty, as to any question of international law, as to the existence of any fact which, if established, would constitute a breach of any international obligation, or as to the extent and nature of the reparation to be made for any such breach, are declared to be among those which are *generally* suitable for submission to arbitration."

The purpose of this suggestion is to make the obligation to resort to arbitration more absolute and more precise.

The fourth amendment concerns the economic blockade. It would permit the Council to authorize a State, in the vicinity of another State against which the blockade has been enforced, to maintain a certain degree of intercourse with the covenant-breaking State, provided that such action is considered by the Council to be necessary to prevent the blockaded State from threatening or attacking its neighbor. It is held that, as the obligation to sever all economic and financial relations with the covenant-breaking State is at present automatic, it would

be wise to allow some measure of freedom in its application, especially in the case of the smaller States, where the fulfilment of the obligation might possibly lead to occupation of territory by the covenant-breaking State in order to protect those economic interests, which, as a result of the blockade, would be at stake.

REPATRIATING HALF A MILLION PRISONERS

Special Correspondence

Our readers will find it difficult to realize the well-nigh incredible facts submitted in this special correspondence. Two years after the war is over, there they are prisoners, ill fed, practically unclothed, ravaged by disease, driven like slaves—a horrible fact for men who fought bravely—not hundreds of them, not thousands, not even tens of thousands, but nearly a half million. The encouragement is that neutrals, allies, ex-enemies, Bolshevik, are coming together in the attempt to redeem these too-long-neglected sufferers.

—THE EDITOR.

A GREAT PART of the one million pounds required this year for the carrying on the work of repatriating nearly half a million prisoners still in Germany, Russia, Siberia, and Turkestan, almost two years after the Armistice, has now been made available by the different governments concerned, and the actual task of repatriation is being rapidly carried out by Dr. Fridtjof Nansen under the authority of the League of Nations and in co-operation with the International Committee of the Red Cross and the German and the Soviet authorities.

Within the past few weeks the following credits have been received: Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, £35,000 each; Holland, £45,000, with £10,000 additional promised in case the other nations fulfill their allotment; Switzerland, £48,000, and Great Britain, £113,500, with an equal additional sum promised in case the other nations meet their allotments. France has provisionally promised £115,000 and Italy £85,000. The American Red Cross has allotted a million dollars and the American Y. M. C. A. has made a large contribution for the betterment of the conditions of the prisoners, provision of comforts, etc.

The sums actually received will allow the continuance of the work until October. If the French and Italian contributions are received by then, the work will go on until all prisoners are returned to their homes. It may be added that all expenses for repatriating German prisoners are borne by the German Government itself.

To carry out the repatriation, a fleet of ships has been chartered in the name of the League of Nations, most of them to travel between Germany and Russia in the Baltic, but others to make the long six weeks' trip from Hamburg to Vladivostok. In order to keep the expenses at the lowest possible figure, cargoes have been booked on the longer-voyage ships at the same time that prisoners are being transported.

It is, perhaps, interesting that officials of the League of Nations, in the extremely difficult and complicated

task of returning prisoners of war to their homes amidst the most confused political conditions, are directing a small fleet of steamers, securing cargoes, and overseeing all the work necessary to carry out this essential humanitarian work in the most economical way. The execution of the great amount of detail work involved is being carried out by representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross and by German Government authorities.

On the Baltic, the most important routes, fifteen vessels have been chartered to ply back and forth between Stettin, Germany, and Narva and Riga, in Esthonia, and Bjorko, in Finland. When the first ship sailed, in early May, there were over 200,000 Russians still in Germany and an equal number of Central European prisoners still in Russia, Siberia, and Turkestan, of whom only about 25,000 were Germans, while the rest were Hungarians, Austrians, Czechs, Roumanians, Poles, and Serbs.

To date, about 30,000 prisoners have been repatriated each way, or a total of 60,000, via the Baltic route. The present weekly rate of repatriation on this route is 8,000, with the expectations of reaching 16,000—20,000 shortly.

The second route runs from Hamburg through the Red Sea to Vladivostok. By this route between 20,000 and 30,000 Austrians, Hungarians, Roumanians, and Poles still in eastern Siberia would be brought back, and roughly the same number of East Siberian Russians still in Germany taken out to their homes. Two vessels, each capable of taking 1,500 or 2,000 men per trip, have already been chartered for this work and cargoes secured, despite the difficulty of finding material for export from Germany to the Far East. The first will sail from Hamburg within the next ten days and the second shortly after. The deficit between the cost of chartering and operating the ships and the receipts from freight will be met out of the contribution made by the American Red Cross.

A third route, it is hoped, may be opened from southern Russia, where many prisoners are still detained, through the Black Sea to Triest, whence Russian prisoners still in Germany might be embarked for South Russian ports. It is hoped Italy will contribute the shipping necessary for this route.

Dr. Nansen is convinced that unless all the interested nations give their most immediate and earnest aid to this problem thousands of men who have for years endured the most terrible suffering will meet their death during the forthcoming winter. The condition of the prisoners now being repatriated is almost indescribably pitiful, for they come out of their long confinement not only without even the essential articles of clothing, but also very often in a desperately bad physical condition. Dr. Nansen feels that, though almost insurmountable difficulties are being encountered in finding shipping, in raising funds in this moment of financial stringency, and in carrying on the many-sided negotiations between Allied governments, former neutrals, ex-enemy governments, and the Soviet authorities, nevertheless the world owes a tremendous debt to these half million sufferers held prisoners under most terrible circumstances for two years after the Armistice, and that no effort must be spared to return them to their homes.